

From Hunting Magic to Shamanism: Interpretations of Native American Rock Art and the Contemporary Crisis in Masculinity

Richard A. Rogers
Northern Arizona University

This essay examines two prominent models for the interpretation of Native American rock art, highlighting projections of Euro-American gender ideologies and tensions over masculinity onto (pre)historic cultures. Specifically, the figure of the Native American shaman models masculine power as symbolic and spiritual, not physical, yet linked to a virile heterosexuality. By identifying discursive homologies, this centering of a primitive, spiritual masculinity is understood as a response to the Euro-American "crisis of masculinity." **Keywords:** gender, homology, masculinity, Native American culture, primitive, rock art, shamanism.

Much of the increasing literature on masculinity focuses on the "crisis of masculinity." Gail Bederman, for example, analyzes the crisis of middle-class Anglo-American masculinity circa 1900, identifying its sources in shifting patterns of work, threats from Others (women, working class, and racial minorities), and tensions over masculinity as physical strength versus self-mastery. Whatever the origins and regardless of the "reality" of the crisis, "working class and immigrant men [. . .] seemed to possess a virility and vitality which decadent white middle-class men had lost" (Bederman 14). Similarly, many analyses of the contemporary crisis in Euro-American masculinity point to shifts in work and economics: "Foreign investment, corporate flight, downsizing, and automation have suddenly left members of the working class without a steady family wage, which [. . .] has left many white working-class men feeling emasculated and angry" (Fine et al. 53). Susan Faludi also highlights the role of work, focusing on a loss of "utilitarian masculinity" which "required that a man wrest something out of the raw materials of the physical world" (85) and that his work be "critical to society" (86). Not only blue collar but also

Richard A. Rogers (Ph.D., University of Utah, 1994) is an Associate Professor of Speech Communication at Northern Arizona University. Earlier versions of this paper were presented to the Organization for Research on Women and Communication, Western States Communication Association, Albuquerque, NM, February 2004, and the Women's Studies Division, Western Social Science Association, Salt Lake City, UT, April 2004.

white collar masculinity is under siege by the corporate feminization of (male) professionals. Karen Ashcraft and Lisa Flores write, "whereas corporations have long supplied an institutional anchor for white, middle-class masculinity" (23), "contemporary discourse casts suspicion on the white collar, as well as the notion that a man is defined by his professional achievements and material possessions" (22).

Key themes in these discussions of the crisis in masculinity—tensions between physical strength and mental/moral capacity as the basis for masculinity, anxiety over the loss of virility due to changes in work, fear of the incapacity to fulfill the role of breadwinner—are manifested in a seemingly unrelated discursive terrain: archaeological interpretations of the meaning and function of (pre)historic Native American rock art. These parallels are especially apparent in an article focusing on gender, subsistence, and rock art in the Coso Range of southeastern California. Originally published in *World Archaeology* in 1994, David Whitley's "By the Hunter, for the Gatherer: Art, Social Relations and Subsistence Change in the Prehistoric Great Basin" presents a crisis of masculinity and its resolution.

Whitley explains that during a period in which big game hunting, a male activity, became less important and gathering, a female activity, became more important to the subsistence of the Numic cultures of the Cosos, "the seed-eating Numic produced a massive corpus of art that, taken literally at least, emphasized hunting, an activity of reduced importance to them" ("By the Hunter" 262).

With the transition to a less mobile, seed-oriented gathering economy at c. AD 1200, it must be inferred that the then-existing social relations were, at least, threatened: the increasing emphasis on foods supplied by women and diminished importance of game hunted by men had the potential to change gender relations. In particular, this change made women effectively independent economically. And since male independence (from other males) was predicated on marriage and the resulting control of a woman's gathered foodstuffs, this increased the men's dependence on women and marriage. (269)

Whitley sets out "to explain why people who principally ate seeds and nuts made art that emphasized mountain sheep and bows and arrows" (258). "While there could have been a series of solutions to avert the potential

social disruption that might have resulted by this changing subsistence pattern, the archaeological evidence suggests that a response in the Cosos involved a dramatic increase in the production of rock engravings" (269).

Whitley interprets these rock engravings as products of male shamans, a social and spiritual role that allowed men to maintain their powerful position vis-à-vis women ("By the Hunter"). Changes in subsistence practices decentered men's role as providers, threatening their social status and their culture's gender arrangements. In response, men used a role predicated on "supernatural power" and "esoteric knowledge" that manifested itself in rock art. Whitley's essay provides one narrative of how men respond to a felt crisis of masculinity—a narrative that may say more about the contemporary crisis of masculinity than (pre)historic Numic culture.

Following the rhetoric of inquiry (Simons), the rhetoric of the human sciences (Nelson et al.), and feminist standpoint theory (Haraway; Harding), I contend that contemporary archaeological knowledge, specifically that concerning (pre)historic rock art in western North America, is reflective of and an active participant in contemporary gender ideologies and struggles, including the crisis of masculinity. Using Barry Brummett's concept of discursive homology, I argue that the figure of the shaman in the literature on Native American rock art not only mirrors the perceived causes, tensions, and contradictions involved in the contemporary Euro-American crisis of masculinity, but engages the crisis and offers a potential resolution. In Kenneth Burke's terms, the shamanic interpretation of rock art offers "a strategy for encompassing a situation" (109), articulating narratives, ideologies, and motives of contemporary Euro-American hegemonic masculinity in the guise of archaeological interpretations of (pre)historic indigenous cultures.

To establish that Whitley's arguments concerning Numic cultures of 800 years ago do not merely parallel but reflect and engage the contemporary crisis of masculinity, I review existing research on Western images of Native Americans and the crisis of masculinity. With this foundation, I analyze two perspectives on rock art—hunting magic and shamanism—for their participation in the ongoing construction of "Native American" and its involvement with contemporary forms and crises of masculinity. Identification of discursive homologies between contemporary Euro-American masculinity and archaeological interpretations of (pre)historic indigenous cultures offers a powerful approach for identifying unconscious ideologies and motives, as well as rhetorically appealing projec-

tions and displacements, operating in and between apparently unrelated discourses. Finally, I discuss the implications of the shaman as a model of Native American masculinity for the felt crisis in Euro-American masculinity, suggesting that this figure represents a new strategy to "revive" hegemonic masculinity by straddling the physical/mental binary of masculine performance via a spiritual role grounded in virile male heterosexuality.

Representations of the Primitive Native American Other

In his classic work *The White Man's Indian*, Robert Berkhofer states, "the essence of the White image of the Indian has been the definition of Native Americans in fact and fancy as a separate and single other" (xv). The primitive Other has long served as a site for projecting Western fears and fantasies, for working through anxieties and conflicts while maintaining an illusion of the integrity and superiority of Western cultures and identities (Gilman; Torgovnick). For example, dominant views of "Native American" are manifested in recurrent, iconic images such as Edward Curtis's photographs (1896-1930) of "vanishing" American Indians, James Fraser's 1915 oft-replicated sculpture "The End of the Trail" and the early 1970s Keep America Beautiful campaign featuring Iron-Eyes Cody shedding a tear as he surveys a polluted and littered landscape. These images do not represent specific individuals or Native cultures. Euro-American representations of Native Americans cue as well as contribute to an *abstraction* called "Native American" or "Indian," embodying notions of barbarism, nobility, stoicism, harmonious spirituality, environmental stewardship, and a host of other shifting and contradictory themes (Berkhofer; Bird, "Savage"; Bird, "Tales"; Buescher and Ono; Bury; Deloria; Torgovnick; van Lent). Berkhofer also notes that "White interest in the American Indian surges and ebbs with the tides of history" (xiii). Not only the degree of interest but the nature of that interest shifts based on changes in Euro-American culture. Therefore, "to understand the White image of the Indian is to understand White societies and intellectual premises over time more than the diversity of Native Americans" (xvi). Examination of Euro-American representations of Native Americans not only identifies *what* Native Americans mean in contemporary Euro-American culture, but *how* those meanings function in relation to Euro-American cultural dynamics.

The Western trope of the primitive is bifurcated, with primitive Others alternately or simultaneously serving as models of the undesirable and the desirable based on a shifting set of binary oppositions: emotion/reason, barbaric/civilized, feminine/masculine, nature/culture, innocent/corrupt, virile/impotent, violent/peaceful. As many scholars have argued, the primitive is a binary structure used to establish non-Western cultures as manifestations of earlier stages of development as well as to project both desired and undesirable traits onto Others (Torgovnick). The primitive Other symbolizes what is desired (yet forbidden), what is repulsive (yet attractive), what is lost (but yearned for) (Gilman). In particular, the trope of the primitive is deeply sexualized, articulating and displacing Western sexual ideologies, desires, and conflicts (Torgovnick). Examination of discourses of the primitive can reveal shifts in emphasis and evaluation that lend insight into contemporary cultural dynamics and reveal the categories of "primitive" and "civilized" as fluid, contradictory, and contested.

Gendered Representations of Native Americans

A variety of scholars have examined Western and specifically Euro-American representations of Native Americans (e.g., Berkhofer; Churchill; Deloria; Kadish; Torgovnick), though often without attention to gender variances (exceptions include Bird, "Savage"; Bird, "Tales"; Buescher and Ono; van Lent). Specifically, little attention has been paid to the almost exclusively male image of Native Americans: Iron-Eyes Cody crying in response to a trashed landscape, the warrior of "The End of the Trail" with his downcast eyes and spear, the Hollywood brave on his horse defiantly raising his feathered spear, Chief Seattle's words and image on a bumper sticker. Elizabeth Bird, however, has noted the male predominance in these representations, pointing out that while historically images of Native women were central to colonialism, "Indian men, more than women, were the focus of the wave of fascination with things Indian that first crested in the 1960s and 1970s when the counter-culture embraced Indians as purveyors of ancient wisdom and spiritual knowledge" ("Savage" 75).

Bird identifies two predominant images of Native American men and two predominant images of Native American women in popular media. The first image of Indian men is the "Doomed Warrior" (Bird, "Savage"). This character has a strong sexual dimension reflecting both positive and negative images of Native Americans, articulating Indians as (sexually)

dangerous savages while the figure's bravery and physicality also creates sexual appeal. The recurrent narrative pattern paints the Doomed Warrior as physically strong but structurally impotent, a figure whose place in history will inevitably be eclipsed. The second image of Native American men is the "Wise Elder," who is not a subject or object of sexual desire but is defined by an emphasis on wisdom and spirituality and is particularly important for positive representations of Native Americans in relation to environmental ethics and New Age spiritualities (Bird, "Savage"). Turning to Native women, Bird notes, "Indian women have become largely invisible and irrelevant in mainstream popular culture" ("Savage" 85) with the exception of Pocahontas. Nevertheless, by examining representations from colonial times to the 1990s, Bird identifies two types of Native women: "faceless, rather sexless Squaws in minor roles [...] or sexy exotic Princesses or Maidens" ("Savage" 89). Paralleling the virgin/whore dichotomy (Bird, "Tales"), both of these images are sexualized, though with different evaluations. The Princess/Maiden is sexualized as an object of desire for Western men and is opposed to the Squaw. An Indian woman becomes a Squaw when she has sex with a man. Squaws lack individual identities, are at the beck and call of their husbands, and live lives of drudgery (Bird, "Tales"). Bird's approach is informative but relatively static, cataloging various meanings assigned to Native men and women over time. Returning to Berkhofer, dominant images of Native Americans—in all their continuities, changes, and contradictions—are responsive to dynamics within Euro-American culture. In order to highlight contemporary gender dynamics in relation to representations of Native Americans, specifically homologies between contemporary narratives of masculinity and those in the rock art literature, I turn to a discussion of the "crisis of masculinity."

Masculinities and Crises

The crisis of masculinity, both historically and in post-1960s US-America, has been the subject of several analyses. While authors diverge on issues such as whether the crisis is "real" and its potential for the continuation or displacement of hegemonic masculinity, there are convergences in the literature of relevance to my focus on gendered representations of Native Americans, the acts of projection such representations entail, and the means by which such representations and projections articulate with the masculinity crisis.

Central to the crisis are a series of tensions or contradictions characterizing Western masculinities: physical strength versus intellectual capacity, virile sexuality versus emasculation, and blue versus white collar. In her examination of the crisis of Anglo-American masculinity circa 1900, Bederman focuses on the tension between civilized and primitive masculinities. In racial and national terms, the superiority of Anglo-American masculinity was predicated on the deployment of a civilized masculinity (based on self-mastery and intellectual capacity) over and against the primitive masculinity (based on bodily strength, sexual virility, and a lack of moral control) of racialized Others. Civilized masculinity, however, was also seen as a sign of the feminization of middle-class Anglo-American men, threatening traditional signs of male superiority such as physical strength and sexual virility, and questioning the inferiority of racial and working class Others. This created a desire on the part of bourgeois men for what "primitive" males were presumed to possess: strength and virility (see also Bordo). Hence, Bederman notes a decline in the Victorian model of civilized manliness and a rise in the discourse and appeal of primitive masculinity circa 1900, although both models of masculinity remained in circulation throughout the twentieth century. Bederman argues that the contradictions between these models of masculinity were not resolved or necessarily experienced as contradictions—the discourses of both primitive and civilized masculinity were deployed strategically in support of the hegemony of men over women, the bourgeois over the working class, and whites over immigrants and colonized peoples.

Ashcraft and Flores argue that the basic tension identified by Bederman is in play one hundred years later in the contemporary crisis of white collar masculinity. Focusing on discourse that "mourns the imminent collapse of the corporate man, over-civilized and emasculated by allied obligations to work and to women" (2), they identify a "civilized/primitive" masculinity that demands both civilized and primitive masculine performances. These performances, deployed in the maintenance of an unstable, elastic, and historically mobile hegemonic masculinity, nevertheless leave the underlying tensions unresolved. This lack of resolution, while holding the potential for individual confusion and even collective resistance, does not necessarily imply a failure of hegemonic masculinity. As Sally Robinson notes, "there is ample evidence to suggest that white and male power reproduces itself through cycles of crisis and resolution" (86).

A summary of the basic narrative structure often used to explain the current crisis establishes a basis for identifying parallels between the

discourse of the crisis and interpretations of indigenous rock art. The narrative is grounded in a period of (mythical) gender stability most commonly represented as "the 1950s" in which gender roles were clearly defined, with man as breadwinner and woman as homemaker, and produced stable identities and social harmony. Economically, (white) men occupied productive roles, either as blue collar workers involved in industrial manufacturing or as white collar "corporate men" who were offered meaningful employment and job security in return for loyalty to the corporation.

Beginning in the 1960s and continuing to today, several factors eroded the stability, clarity, and harmony of the established gender configuration and specifically threatened the identity, social role, and prestige of (white) men. First, feminism and the women's movement challenged the desirability and validity of traditional gender roles and promoted women's entry into previously male-only realms. More broadly, a range of related social movements (civil rights, gay rights, anti-war) challenged the validity of white male privilege. Second, economic changes eroded the basis for (white) male identity. The guarantee of a good income and job security was weakened as a result of economic shifts such as globalization and corporate strategies such as down-sizing, out-sourcing, and automation. Industrial production also gave way to an increasingly information- and service-based economy. The loss of blue collar work, the rise of feminized (pink collar) work, and/or the perceived feminization of white collar work parallels a perceived loss of status at home. The overall result is emasculation and feminization, feelings of disempowerment and anger. Various versions of the narrative offer different implied or expressed resolutions to the crisis, including a return to primitive masculinities and the scapegoating of women, minorities, and/or "soft men" (Ashcraft and Flores; Faludi).

This basic narrative demonstrates that masculinity is not only culturally relative, continually (re)constituted, and a site of struggle, but reflects and responds to social, economic, and political changes; given the conflictual and contradictory character of social, economic, and political systems, masculinity reflects, utilizes, and obscures such conflicts and contradictions. A focus on the dynamics of these tensions and contradictions is important for avoiding oversimplified diagnoses of the crisis of masculinity as simply a loss of what was once stable. Shifts in and struggles over masculinity are diagnostic of social structure and consciousness, and reveal masculinity, not as essence, but as multiple, complex, and contra-

dictory—as “a historical, ideological process” (Bederman 7). As Sally Robinson states in her discussion of the post-1960s crisis of masculinity,

backlash is an oversimplified concept that obscures the much more complicated struggle over normativity in American culture. Rather than seeing that struggle as a singular, pitched battle between the white man and his various others, it is much more accurate—and fruitful, as well—to think about how normativity, constantly under revision, shifts in response to the changing social, political and cultural terrain. (4)

Such an understanding dovetails with Berkhofer's approach, pointing to the representation of Native Americans as not only reflective of the internal conflicts in Euro-American culture but as a rhetorical force, a shaper of consciousness, social relations, and power. Within this framework, the interpretation of (pre)historic Native American rock art is not only a site for the circulation of the image of Native Americans in Euro-American culture, but articulates gender and sexuality in an engagement of the crisis of masculinity.

Rock Art in the Contemporary Cultural Landscape

“Rock art” refers primarily to petroglyphs (pecked, engraved, or incised on rocks) and pictographs (painted on rocks) made by indigenous peoples in “prehistoric” and “historic” contexts.¹ Rock art is an important source of contemporary imagery used to cue or represent Native Americans in general, especially those of the southwestern United States. Many Southwest tourist destinations use rock art-derived imagery, most commonly the image of the hump-backed flute player known (incorrectly) as “Kokopelli.” Many other rock art motifs are also commonly used including a variety of anthropomorphic figures, stylized handprints, geometric forms such as spirals, and images of animals such as bighorn sheep and cougars. Such imagery appears on printed materials for national parks and other recreational sites; on informational and commercial signage; and, most inescapably, on a variety of tourist merchandise. In addition to calendars, guide books, and picture books which specifically represent and discuss rock art, clothing, sculptures, jewelry, stuffed toys, pot-holders, mugs, and an almost unimaginable variety of other tourist merchandise are composed of or adorned with rock art-derived images. In addition, hotels, camp-

grounds, restaurants, tour companies, gift shops, real estate developments, and other commercial establishments utilize rock art-derived imagery to identify and market their products and services.

Interpreting Rock Art

Paralleling its rising popularity and commercialization, rock art has also become increasingly visible in academic circles. US American anthropologists and archaeologists, with notable exceptions, dismissed the significance of rock art well into the twentieth century (Hays-Gilpin; Schaafsma). Early research focused on stylistic classification and the distribution of styles and motifs. Historical and cultural contextualization and interpretation of rock art was generally avoided, reflecting the reign of positivism in anthropology and archaeology. Since the 1960s, partially in conjunction with the shift from processual to post-processual and cognitive approaches in archaeology (Whitley, "New Approaches"), several models for the meaning and function of rock art have been proposed.²

This analysis focuses on two models for interpreting rock art in the western U.S., specifically the Great Basin: hunting magic and shamanism. Three factors guided this choice. First, while other types of rock art research reflect and enact gendered and cultural biases (Bass), interpretive models are more useful for identifying cultural projections. The ultimate indeterminacy of rock art's "real" meanings facilitates projection of Euro-American ideologies, struggles, and contradictions onto such imagery as well as dependence on existing structures of meaning in the development of models to explain its meaning and function in the cultures which produced it. Archaeologist Kelley Hays-Gilpin has examined the influence of gender and other cultural projections on rock art studies and offers this summary: "The myths in the rock art literature so far are mainly ours, not those of prehistoric people" (63). Models for the interpretation of rock art are likely to reveal as much if not more about contemporary ideologies and dynamics as they are about the cultures that produced the rock art.

Second, hunting magic and shamanism have each occupied the position of a dominant model for the interpretation of Great Basin rock art, a dominance which extended each model's application to a multitude of regions and rock art styles and facilitated both models' dissemination beyond the academy. These models have influenced the presentation of rock art to the general public in the form of "coffee-table" books (e.g., Malotki and Weaver; Whitley, *Art*), guide books (e.g., Slifer; Whitley, *Guide*), videos (e.g., Pahuta), museum displays, interpretive materials at

rock art sites, and information provided by tour guides (Hays-Gilpin). These models contribute to the general public's understanding of Native American cultures, histories, and gender roles as well as framing their understanding of rock art's nature and significance.

Third, these two models are sequential, an important factor in tracking their relationship with the contemporary crisis of masculinity. Hunting magic was firmly in place by the 1960s, began to decline in the 1980s, and was largely discredited by the 1990s. Shamanism appeared as an explanatory framework in the 1980s and achieved a position of dominance, replacing hunting magic, by the 1990s (Keyser and Whitley). Due to their prominence in the literature, their impact on the presentation of rock art to the general public, and the movement away from hunting magic and toward the shamanic hypothesis over the last two decades, these two models are well suited for tracking changes in rock art interpretation and the implications of those changes for the image of Native Americans and the dynamics of Euro-American masculinities.

Following the rhetoric of inquiry and the rhetoric of the human sciences (Nelson et al.; Simons) and feminist critiques of science via standpoint theory (Haraway; Harding), models for rock art interpretation are not solely or even predominantly determined by archaeological, ethnohistorical, and ethnographic evidence, and are thereby potentially symptomatic of the (unconscious) projection of Western gender ideologies. Following my discussion of the trope of the primitive, models for rock art interpretation are not simply hypotheses formed from available evidence by hermetically sealed epistemologies, but can serve to project Euro-American ideologies, tensions, and conflicts onto Native American cultures through a dependence on existing frames of reference, structures of meaning, and narrative patterns.³

The relationships between rock art interpretation and the contemporary crisis in masculinity can be identified through the concept of discursive homologies. Brummett defines homology as "a pattern found to be ordering significant particulars of different and disparate experiences" (1) that "is most interesting when it is observed as a linkage among *disparate* orders of experience" (2). Part of what makes a text appealing or rhetorically effective is the use of implied, often unconscious parallels to other texts or lived experience. Such parallels, however, are neither a priori nor self-evident; they are rhetorical constructions that affect how a situation is understood and evaluated. The use of formal patterns to link different particulars leads Brummett to the principle of vulnerability: "one experi-

ence may have rhetorical effects on how people perceive and order another experience or group of experiences if they are formally linked" (41)—even (or especially) if the parallels between the two situations and/or the underlying homology itself is outside of conscious awareness. "Attunement to rhetorical homology through methods of rhetorical criticism allows one to track lines of rhetorical influence that might otherwise be obscured" (Brummett 3).

In an extension of the basic tenets of the rhetoric of inquiry and standpoint theory, I hold that academic knowledge and literature not only embody and perpetuate particular cultural and ideological biases, but also function, as with "popular" discourses (Torgovnick), to project and "work through" contemporary cultural tensions. Through discursive homologies and the principle of vulnerability, contemporary discourses can influence archaeological interpretations of the past, while archaeological interpretations can in turn influence or at least respond to other contemporary discourses, such as those regarding the crisis of masculinity.

The vulnerability of archaeological knowledge to influence by contemporary values, narratives, and ideologies has been demonstrated by a variety of gender-based and feminist critiques of North American archaeology (Galloway; Gilchrist; S. Nelson; Troccoli; Watson and Kennedy). In this analysis I draw from these gendered critiques of archaeology and, when available, rock art studies in particular—not to "correct" for distortions in rock art interpretation, but to establish such interpretations as neither self-evident nor produced in isolation from the standpoints and ideologies of researchers, thereby identifying potential projections of contemporary ideologies and tensions onto indigenous rock art. To support the case that the homologies I identify between these two discourses are not merely a set of coincidental parallels or the manifestation of cross-cultural patterns of gender or patriarchy, I engage in rather "conventional" gender critiques of the two models for rock art interpretation. This is a necessary step in demonstrating that the discourses of rock art and the crisis of masculinity are homologous and potentially mutually influential. This conventional critique helps identify both overt and subtle parallels between the two disparate discourses under examination here, parallels which suggest possible vulnerabilities between the discourses.

The most obvious gendered pattern in rock art studies is an almost complete absence of women in rock art production and use (Hays-Gilpin), a pattern that parallels contemporary popular representations of Native Americans. A focus on Native men and an erasure of Native women

continues in the interpretation of rock art, furthering the androcentrism of the Euro-American image of "Native American" and enabling it as a site for working through the contemporary crisis of masculinity.

Rock Art as Hunting Magic

In hunter-gatherer societies in the (pre)historic Great Basin, many researchers interpreted rock art as "hunting magic" (e.g., Bettinger and Baumhoff; Grant; Heizer and Baumhoff). Images of game animals and weapons, hunting scenes, and depictions of game animals with protruding arrows or darts, as well as the placement of rock art sites near hunting areas, were taken to indicate that the production of rock art was intended to insure a good hunt. Well-established in the 1960s, this was the dominant interpretive model for Great Basin petroglyphs in particular into the 1980s. In the last two decades, however, this model's dominance has diminished due in part to a lack of corroborating ethnohistorical evidence, rock art sites often not being correlated with hunting areas, and the rise of new interpretations (Keyser and Whitley; Whitley, "By the Hunter"). I argue that changes in conditions of Euro-American masculinity played a role in the decline of the hunting magic model—it not only lost favor due to its inability to account for relevant evidence, but its inadequacy for articulating certain images of Native peoples and forms of masculinity. To set the basis for this argument, I analyze the gendering of the hunting magic model and the structure of meaning that frames it, the Western view of hunter-gatherers.

Feminist critiques of anthropology and archaeology have identified a rather homogenized view of hunter-gatherer societies with regard to gender and subsistence: "the women gather, the men hunt" (Murdock, qtd. in S. Nelson 86). Men were assumed to be hunters due to their greater physical strength and lack of constraints from child-bearing and rearing (Watson and Kennedy). Male archaeologists focused on what they perceived as valuable: large-game hunting and the related use and production of hunting tools (Gilchrist). As Sarah Nelson puts it, the stereotype is that what men do is heroic and fun (hunting), while women's activities are by definition dull and repetitive (gathering and processing). However, cross-cultural evidence fails to support such generalizations. In many instances, men gather and prepare plants, and women engage in activities that could be called hunting (Gilchrist; S. Nelson).

This gender duality in hunter-gatherer societies relates directly to rock art as hunting magic. If only men hunt, then rock art depicting hunting

scenes, weapons, and large game animals was presumably made by men, in support of male activities. This chain of reasoning is clear in Robert Bettinger and Martin Baumhoff's discussion of Great Basin rock art in the context of the replacement of Pre-Numic hunter-gatherers by Numic hunter-gatherers between 1000 AD and the "historic" period. In this 1982 monograph from *American Antiquity*, Bettinger and Baumhoff propose that different hunter-gatherer strategies characterized these groups, with the Pre-Numic populations being "travellers," a strategy reliant on large-game hunting and procurement of high-quality plant resources (which require less processing). Groups adopting such a strategy "are required to maximize the procurement of large game [. . .] and to gather information about the density and distribution of high-ranked plant resources over a fairly large area" (Bettinger and Baumhoff 492). Because large-game hunting and long-distance traveling "generally fall to males and because processing tasks, which generally fall to females, are minimized, it follows that travellers should adopt practices that produce high male/female ratios, i.e., a male-rich society" (492). In contrast, the Numic used a "processor" strategy involving lower-quality plant resources, less travel time, and greater extraction and processing time. "In processing societies, therefore, the sex ratio should strike a more even balance between males and females or produce female-rich societies" (492).

Bettinger and Baumhoff argue that almost all Great Basin rock art was produced by the Pre-Numic "travellers." The rock art of the region was made by hunters at a time when hunting was a larger part of the adaptive strategy, and the relative absence of Numic ("processor") rock art is due to the relative lack of importance of hunting in their adaptive strategy. The linkage of the traveller/processor model to the interpretation of rock art as hunting magic clarifies the gendering of the rock art: Numic processors "were insufficiently reliant on large game to account for such a practice" and "incapable of maintaining male groups of sufficient size in sufficiently continuous association to sustain hunting cults of the sort likely to have been responsible for Great Basin rock art" (Bettinger and Baumhoff 494). Feminized societies produce little rock art or rock art of inferior quality compared to that of "male rich" societies.

This image of rock art makers is based in more than a strict division of labor. The interpretation of rock art as "hunting magic" attributes agency to men through the use of rituals and symbols to enhance control over the environment and other entities which inhabit it (cf. Hays-Gilpin; Watson and Kennedy). Native men are active and adventurous; skilled in survival,

travel, tracking, hunting, and the production of tools; and in possession of ritual and imagery designed to enhance their power. Implicit in the hunting magic model is the Squaw (Bird, "Tales"): Native American women engaged in lives of drudgery, awaiting the return of men with the meat needed for survival and tediously processing gathered foods. Most important for the purpose of this essay, however, is the image of masculinity the hunting magic model presents: physically strong, skilled in the ways of nature, provider of sustenance, and possessing power derived from ritual activity. For the Pre-Numic men of the Great Basin, their social role was secure, their contribution (meat) was important, and their material traces (e.g., rock art and projectile points) are valued by later cultures. But when their social structure is compromised by changes in subsistence practices, the men and the rock art literally decline and are supplanted by a less interesting "female rich" society.

Rock Art as Shamanic Practice

Many alternative interpretive models have been advanced for the rock art of various regions and traditions: mythic and historic narratives, clan identification, territorial and route markers, astronomical observation and time-keeping, fertility rituals, and rites of passage (Hays-Gilpin; Whitley, *Guide*). However, arguments concerning the shamanic hypothesis have dominated recent interpretive rock art studies. By the 1990s shamanism had replaced hunting magic as the dominant model for rock art interpretation in the Great Basin and elsewhere. As Hays-Gilpin notes, "'shamanism' emerges as one of the most important and controversial concepts in rock art interpretation all over the world" (13). Rick Bury adds, "to the interested public, the notion that rock art is explained by shamanism is an attractive one" (150).

The shamanic/neuropsychological model was developed by David Lewis-Williams through his work with San rock art in South Africa and has been applied to Palaeolithic cave paintings in Europe and rock art across western North America (Turpin). In the U.S., David Whitley has been the primary proponent of the shamanic hypothesis, especially for Great Basin rock art. My analysis focuses on Whitley's formulations due to his numerous publications, their prominence in the literature, and their influence on rock art interpretation in a variety of contexts.⁴ This approach is one of the most complex and multifaceted attempts to explain a large portion of rock art in the western U.S. While proponents of this model point out that shamanism does not explain all rock art in the western U.S.,

Lewis-Williams's claim that "without a doubt, the evidence now points unequivocally to shamanism as one of the principal, probably *the* principal, context in which rock art was made on [the North American] continent" is representative of the explanatory power its proponents believe the model offers (347). Such statements offer one explanation for increasing resistance to the shamanic model (e.g., Bury; Hedges; Kehoe; Ross). Despite a rise in both empirical and ideological criticisms of the shamanic hypothesis, little attention has been given to its gendered implications. Before discussing the gendering of rock art in this model, however, a brief overview is necessary.

Literal interpretations of Great Basin (and much other) rock art imagery face several hurdles. While many anthropomorphic figures can be interpreted as humans, various distortions to the human form, such as anthropomorphs with the heads and/or feet of birds, challenge literal readings. In addition, various images, such as those of bighorn sheep, are often rotated or inverted in ways which literal readings strain to explain. Finally, much Great Basin rock art includes abstract geometric forms such as zig-zags and dots in grid patterns as well as meandering lines. The shamanic/neuropsychological model is able to explain the literal, the fantastic, and the abstract elements of many Great Basin rock art sites (not to mention many other regional and cultural styles). The neuropsychological model is grounded in the assumption that much rock art is a record of altered states of consciousness (ASC). ASCs may be involved in shamanic journeys, vision quests, or initiation rites, and may be induced by drugs, sensory deprivation, fasting, chanting, and/or drumming. The stages experienced in ASCs explain both abstract geometric forms as well as distortions of representational elements (e.g., anthropomorphs with elongated limbs or bird heads) via patterns of hallucination grounded in human neurological structures (see Lewis-Williams for a more complete discussion).

A key aspect of the shamanic hypothesis is connecting ASC-induced imagery to the shamanic beliefs and practices of specific cultures. In the Great Basin, shamans were understood as having special powers enabling them to travel to another world where they interact with spirits, obtain spirit helpers, and access knowledge to help them in various activities in the mundane world, such as curing (or causing) ailments, controlling game animals, and bringing rain (Whitley, "By the Hunter"; "Finding Rain"). Shamans entered this supernatural world through ASCs and subsequently recorded their visions on rock (Whitley, "Shamanism"). This model not only allows Whitley to make sense of bizarre anthropomorphic figures and

abstract designs in Great Basin rock art; it also enables metaphoric readings of the imagery. For example, certain motifs at rock art sites, such as birds and frogs, are significant because these animals cross boundaries (land/sky, land/water) much as shamans travel between worlds. By extension, anthropomorphs with bird-like attributes indicate a shaman. Images of apparently dead animals (e.g., upside down or impaled bighorn sheep) or of humans killing animals are taken as metaphors for entry into the other world: "death" equals "entry into the supernatural." Flight and sexual intercourse are other metaphors for supernatural travel (Whitley, "Shamanism").

The most obvious gender issue in the shamanic model is the absence of women, as both subject matter and producers of rock art. In his discussion of Coso Range rock art Whitley claims that "completely absent in the Coso engravings are representations of women's crafts and utensils (e.g., basketry), or, for that matter, their product: the plants they gathered," therefore "all of the symbols of the shaman [the rock art imagery] are masculine" ("By the Hunter" 270). The only objects considered female are those which fit the women-as-mother/women-as-gatherer model, and the absence of overt evidence of women's involvement means that the rock art must have been made by and about men. Similarly, the gender identification of anthropomorphic figures in Great Basin rock art appears to be guided by a set of self-reinforcing assumptions: rock art was made by shamans, most anthropomorphic rock art figures are representations of shamans, and shamans were almost universally men. As Sarah Nelson explains in her discussion of male bias in archaeological interpretation, "if women are posited as shamans, strong proof is demanded, while if any activity is gendered male, not even a bridging argument is required" (136).

Whitley denies that women produced (shamanic) rock art because women were not shamans in most far western indigenous cultures ("Ethnography"; *Guide*). However, as Hays-Gilpin states, "female shamans were also frequent in many, but not all, Native American groups of the western United States" (89). Patricia Bass quotes Kroeber's *Handbook of the Indians of California* as indicating that in some ethnolinguistic groups "the shaman was almost invariably a woman" (68). Mairi Ross points out that in many cultures women were thought better suited to the altered states of consciousness required for shamanic practice. While Whitley could counter these generalities by citing ethnographic evidence specific to the cultures he discusses, Ross argues that female shamans were

demonized as a result of European contact, questioning the validity of ethnographic evidence on this matter.

Whitley explains the lack of female shamans by emphasizing that shamanism in far western North America, and specifically in the Numic Great Basin, relied on inversions of gender symbolism. Rock art sites were linked linguistically to female dogs, baskets (made and used by women), and the color red (linked to women via menstrual blood) (Whitley, "Finding Rain"). These sites were portals through which shamans entered the supernatural. Specifically, rock art sites were "symbolic vaginas" and a shaman's ritual journey was understood through the metaphor of (hetero)sexual intercourse (Whitley, "Finding Rain"; "Shamanism"). By defining shamanic journeys as intercourse with female sites/spirits, Whitley explains the dearth of female shamans through "symbolic inversions." The metaphoric link of intercourse with shamanic journeys is based on hallucinations involving sexual relations with spirits; some hallucinogens used by shamans resulted in priapism, which, along with nocturnal emissions, was understood as shamans having intercourse with supernatural entities (Whitley, "Finding Rain"). Shamans, by opening the "earth's vagina" (e.g., a crack in the rock at a rock art site), "restore[d] life and fecundity to the world" ("Finding Rain" 19). Whitley cites a 1936 ethnographic report indicating that shamanism was so heterosexualized that homosexuals could not be shamans ("Finding Rain"). On the literal side of the intercourse metaphor, shamans were known for their "unusual virility" and "extreme sexual appetites" ("Shamanism" 21); "they were thought sexually predatory, and young girls were cautioned to keep away from them" ("Finding Rain" 19).

"Third genders" such as the "two-spirit" were associated with the role of shaman or healer in some of the 150 Native American cultures in which such practices were documented (Gilchrist), questioning Whitley's model of gender binaries and heterosexuality. A small portion of males in nearly every traditional Native American society took on a feminine gender identity (Hays-Gilpin), and cross-dressing occurred among some shamans (Ross). "Shamans in many parts of the world do not conform to the same gender norms as nonshamans [. . .]. Some probably become shamans because they have ambiguous gender identities to begin with, and some cross-dress or blend indicators of more than one gender for spiritual reasons" (Hays-Gilpin 89). In most of these cultures shamans "are expected to combine, confound or transcend sex and gender categories" (Hays-Gilpin 61-62). The rigidity of the binary gender arrangement Whit-

ley describes is potentially explained by the impact of Christian missionaries and other Europeans on indigenous cultures and ethnographic accounts.

Gender fluidity problematizes gender identifications of anthropomorphic figures and other rock art elements. In relation to the rock art of the Coso Range, Whitley, apparently relying upon Grant's earlier tabulations, states that of the 400 "patterned body anthropomorphs" (which he identifies as shamans), "only about a half dozen are female" (*Guide* 121). Discussing what he labels a very rare portrayal of a female shaman, Whitley explains, "based on general conventions of rock art representation across the West, female figures are typically represented by the depiction of a pendant labia and/or a characteristic bottle-shaped body, as opposed to straight up and down" (*Guide* 121). Three problems with these claims can be identified. First, my review of the tabulations he references and photographs of examples he discusses lead me to believe that in the absence of overt "female" markers, figures are assumed to be male even if no male-specific markers (e.g., a penis) are present.⁵ Second, the existence of cross-dressing and third genders questions the use of cultural codes to identify biological sex. Third, in discussing the use of historic ethnography Whitley emphasizes that many informants spoke in metaphorical terms and hence many of their statements must be interpreted figuratively, not literally ("Ethnography"). However, he does not suggest that either ethnographic statements about the sex/gender of shamans or visual markers in rock art (e.g., apparent penises or pendant labia) could themselves be figurative. Whitley appears to assume a binary system of gender closely mapped onto biological sex, two assumptions which may be projections of Western ideologies.

Whitley's most repeated explanation for why there were no (or few) female shamans is that "menstrual blood was thought so inimical to supernatural potency that women, during menstruation, were prohibited from participating in rituals, and effectively excluded from becoming shamans" ("Finding Rain" 21). While postmenopausal women could be shamans, they were "an oddity" and "necessarily believed to be sorceresses, or evil shamans" (*Guide* 123), for "while male sexuality was equated with intelligence and controlled supernatural potency, female sexuality was unbridled, dangerous and generally malevolent" ("Finding Rain" 21).

Whitley consistently describes menstruation's relationship to shamanic power as "inimical" (having the disposition of an enemy, characterized by

hostility or malevolence). Though he does not use the pollution metaphor often used in Western/Judeo-Christian cultures to name the effect of menstruation on the sacred, the effect is similar. Patricia Galloway argues that these views of menstruation are often transferred to other cultures' menstrual taboos and distort the ethnographic record by forcing the Western "male=sacred/female=polluting" structure onto cultures which may not operate from such a hierarchy. Ruth Troccoli argues that menstrual separation "can be viewed as a power issue" because "women bleed and do not die—a process heavily imbued with metaphors of power" (52). If menstruation was seen as powerful, as opposed to "polluting" or "inimical," this can explain Isabel Kelly's Chemehuevi informant's statement, apparently overlooked by Whitley, that "a woman had stronger power than a man" and "not all women doctors [shamans] were bad; some cured" (134).

Whitley's characterization of the indigenous view of female sexuality is strikingly homologous with Western/Judeo-Christian sexual ideologies (see Schott). Female rock art symbols, such as the vulva-forms found in the Great Basin, are interpreted by Whitley as "most likely represent[ing] examples of shamans' activities as sorcerers: in this case, harnessing the malevolent powers of the supernatural to steal another's soul, or otherwise cause them harm"; "female sexuality generally and the vagina specifically were associated with bewitching" and only male shamans "could control the power contained in" such rock art sites ("Finding Rain" 21). While Whitley acknowledges that shamanic power was viewed as ambivalent, able to be used for good or evil, and that a shaman's sexual potency was a sign of both his power and his dangerousness, he nevertheless reproduces the ideology (i.e., manifests an homology) that menstruation and female sexuality are unambiguously evil.

The one area where Whitley concedes to the female production and use of rock art in the far western U.S. is in association with puberty rites in southwestern California where ethnographic evidence directly identifies such practices (Whitley, "Ethnography"; "Finding Rain"). These puberty rites ended with a race to a rock on which were painted diamond-chain patterns, representing rattlesnakes, with red paint, symbolizing menstrual blood. "In an inversion of gender symbols, phallic rattlesnake was considered the ideal spirit helper for these young girls; hence, this girls' art is dominated by schematic rattlesnake paintings" ("Finding Rain" 15). Whitley argues that panels with multiple instances of the same motif (e.g., diamond chains) are female, whereas shamans' panels will show a diverse

range of motifs representing shamans, their spirit helpers, and other spirits encountered in multiple ASCs over long periods of time ("Shamanism"). Whitley's discussion of rock art associated with female puberty rites continues common patterns. Women are only granted visibility when explicit and unambiguous evidence is available (Bass; Hays-Gilpin). Men engaged in "heroic" activities more than women since (male) shamans produced rock art and engaged in visions throughout their life while women did so less frequently, perhaps only once. As Whitley states, "These [vision quests/ASCs] were considered perilous and usually began with a supernatural test of worthiness and inner strength" ("By the Hunter" 262). Male rock art is more varied and complex, and hence more interesting, and represents the successful performance of hegemonic masculinity.

In terms of gender roles and divisions of labor, Whitley's shamanism is not fundamentally different from hunting magic. Men are active parties who take on dangerous tasks: traveling far away, whether in the mundane or supernatural world; tackling dangerous creatures, whether through hunting or encountering spirits in the other world; and making magic to control their environment. I see no more wavering from the line of men as active, heroic, and exciting, and women as passive and dull than in the hunting magic literature. The hunt has merely become a symbolic or supernatural one. Women remain absent from rock art, both as subjects and producers. The drudgery of Native women's lives manifested in Bird's discussion of the Squaw is highlighted by their minimal relationship to rock art: at best, women only produce rock art once in their lives, and women's rock art sites contain only one repeated image in contrast to the variety of imagery made by male shamans. Embedded in Whitley's model is an ideology that Hays-Gilpin identifies in other discussions of shamanic rock art: a Western "worldview that stresses masculine activity and female passivity" (68). However, the changes manifested in the shamanic model are significant for the parallel to the contemporary crisis of masculinity, specifically the shift from a material (subsistence) to a symbolic (social-spiritual) basis for hegemonic masculinity.

Shamanism and the Crisis of Masculinity

The role of shamanic rock art interpretation not only in offering a particular model of hegemonic masculinity but in articulating the contemporary crisis in masculinity is particularly evident in Whitley's article "By the Hunter, for the Gatherer," which I briefly discussed at the beginning of

this essay. Using this article, the homology underlying the shamanic hypothesis and the discourse of the crisis of masculinity can be established through parallels in implied standpoint, diction, and narrative structure.

Whitley's narrative begins prior to 1200 AD, when Numic subsistence in the Cosos "was based on a generalized hunting-gathering strategy" ("By the Hunter" 259). "Men were solely responsible for big game hunting" while women gathered plant foods and captured small game (266). Meat obtained by men was communally shared, while women's contributions were reserved for their immediate families. As a result, women need not marry, but marriage was "necessary for a man to be independent from other men" (266). Using specific regional evidence ordered and completed with a generalized model of marriage and inequality in classless societies, Whitley posits a stable system of gender inequality linked to this subsistence pattern:

Although women were not necessarily considered inferior to men, the prescribed Numic means for acquiring and maintaining respect, prestige and ultimately authority essentially excluded them from it. Prestige, for example, was measured by the number of wives a person could obtain and hold, and discourse emphasized masculine traits and accomplishments, to the complete exclusion of feminine activities and undertakings, as hallmarks of success. Since success was defined exclusively in masculine terms, causality was necessarily linked to male activities and attributes, and feminine skills like gathering and child-rearing were devalued. (266)

Around 1200 AD, however, "evidence suggests an increasing importance in plant foods at the expense of hunting and game" (260). Men's loss of their provider role "threatened" to increase their dependence on women and decrease women's dependence on men. Paralleling the narrative of the contemporary crisis, subsistence changes turn a previously "utilitarian masculinity" (Faludi) into something economically insignificant and socially devalued.

The standpoint embedded in Whitley's repeated use of "threat" to describe the challenge to the existing gender system is revealing. Why this change would be a "threat" is not self-evident unless examined from the point of view of the male role Whitley claims existed prior to the subsistence change. Whitley indicates this change increased women's

economic independence, and no reasoning is provided for why women would perceive this as a threat. While much of Whitley's description is couched in generic terms—e.g., “the threat to established gender relations” (“By the Hunter” 269)—the threat is to a social order which Whitley clearly indicates favors men: “kinship, through the institution of marriage, established a system of inequality that favored males over females, and married men over bachelors” (265). Paralleling the contemporary crisis of masculinity, whether or not changes in gender roles and ideologies constitute a “crisis” or “threat” depends on one's standpoint.

Whitley's foray into cognitive archaeology, reconstructing a “system of beliefs and worldview” (“By the Hunter” 272), appears limited to masculine cognition and anxiety over the loss of male status, a perspective enabled in part by the presumably masculinist bent of the historic ethnography from which he draws and, I would argue, the broader disciplinary and social contexts in which his work is produced and circulated. For example, Whitley describes the post-hunting-oriented Numic peoples as “seed eating” (262) and reliant on “seeds and nuts” (258). These terms, serving as a contrast to the earlier period of meat-eating, are perhaps innocently denotative in archaeology but are extremely loaded within contemporary USAmerican gender ideologies, with “meat” equating to “manliness” and “seeds and nuts” equating to vegetarians, Californians, hippies, and other feminized groups.⁶

The response to the “threat” of women's independence and men's loss of status was a rise in shamanism, which Whitley argues is recorded in the region's rock art. Noting a decrease in archaeological evidence for big-game hunting and an increase in rock art motifs such as male anthropomorphs, weapons, bighorn sheep, and hunting scenes, Whitley constructs this “speculative” hypothesis: “The response to the threat to established gender relations precipitated by the change in subsistence [. . .] was to emphasize male—specifically, the male shaman's—control over women's plant gathering activities” (“By the Hunter” 269-270). Specifically, “the changing subsistence system in the western Great Basin appears to have precipitated a dramatic increase in weather control shamanism” (269). Given the ubiquity of bighorn sheep imagery, including hunted or killed sheep, and ethnographic evidence indicating that killing a bighorn (mountain) sheep was a metaphor for bringing rain, Whitley emphasizes the role of rain shamans in responding to the threat to gender relations:

Male shamans controlled women's plant gathering [. . .] not because they controlled plants and the ritual symbols of women. Instead, it was because of their relationship with an important part of the world of men, the supernatural, from which they obtained *poha* [supernatural power], as symbolized metaphorically by hunting mountain sheep; and due to their control of the symbols of men—hunted game and weaponry. [. . .] The shaman thus demonstrated his importance to women's subsistence activities by metaphorically killing a mountain sheep and by recording this supernatural act in rock art, as well as emphasizing the continuing importance of male hunting, in general, by the selective use of these literal masculine symbols. (270)

In Whitley's narrative a threat to men's power in the mundane world was countered by men's exclusive claim to supernatural power through the role of the shaman and associated rock art. The rock art, therefore, records the successful performance of hegemonic masculinity in the face of a crisis of masculinity: "Given their ownership of esoteric knowledge, shamans were advantaged at a fundamental level: their access to the supernatural enabled them not only to cure (and cause) disease, and thereby exercise some social control through fear, but more generally enabled them to manipulate the workings of the universe to their own benefit" ("By the Hunter" 270-271). Echoing a hegemonic masculinity grounded in (hetero)sexual virility, Whitley states that shamans had more access to females "given their enhanced desirability to women" (270) due to their social and spiritual power. For "Numic cultural logic specified that it was [. . .] only through the acquisition of shamanistic power that men could truly become political actors, and gain prestige and status in Numic society" (268). Finally, "not only did the Numic shaman control nature through his rain rituals, and thereby directly aid the material reproduction of society, but he also fostered the stability of Numic social relations [. . .] by maintaining the established gender asymmetry" (270). Shamanic masculinity restores the hunter's masculinity, maintains hegemonic masculinity, and resolves the crisis of masculinity.

Whitley's narrative of gender and subsistence change reflects and engages the contemporary crisis of masculinity. Both Whitley's narrative and that of the contemporary crisis focus on threats to the male provider role. Changes in subsistence practices (work) threaten that role by destabilizing the basis of hegemonic masculinity and by increasing women's

participation and/or effectiveness in the realm of economics/subsistence. Changes in economics/subsistence alter the performances constituting hegemonic masculinity, replacing physical/bodily activities with mental/symbolic ones. In the contemporary context, this relates to a presumed loss of primitive masculinity and sexual virility by the blue collar due to shifts towards a white collar economy, as well as the feminization of the white collar by corporations and bureaucracies.

Important for this analysis is not only the ways the narrative of the crisis of contemporary masculinity parallels Whitley's narrative of the Numic crisis in the Cosos, but also the responses to and solutions for the crises. In contemporary terms, masculinist responses include a return to primitive physicality, predatory sexuality, homosocial relations, and pre-industrial spiritualities as well as the scapegoating of women, especially those who enter into previously male-only realms and roles (Ashcraft and Flores; Bederman; Churchill; Ferber).

One clear parallel between responses to the contemporary crisis of masculinity and the shamanic interpretation of rock art is the demonization of women. Regarding the exclusion of women from shamanism, Whitley writes that "shamanic power, believed the key to all success and authority, was inimical to menstrual blood, thereby effectively excluding women from prestige" ("By the Hunter" 266). This does more than reinforce a binary system of gender and perpetuate masculine dominance. Whitley's consistent use of "inimical" to describe the relationship between menstruation (an indicator of female essence) and shamanic power is telling: women's essence is "the enemy of" not only spiritual power but, as Whitley makes clear, male prestige. This offers a striking parallel to the discourse of the contemporary crisis of masculinity, in which women are often identified and scapegoated as the cause of men's wounding, the loss of their masculinity and of meaningful social and economic roles (Ashcraft and Flores; Faludi; Ferber; Fine et al.; Robinson). Insistence on an almost exclusive relationship between men and rock art perpetuates the demonization of women and the feminine. The mere presence of females in male realms is defined as malevolent. Whitley holds that if there were female shamans (a woman in a man's realm), then they must have been evil sorceresses; similarly, female symbols depicted in rock art (a male realm), as in the vulva-forms present at many sites in the Great Basin, indicate malevolent sorcery practiced by male shamans. In other words, part of the resolution to the crisis is to (re)create an absolute barrier to women's entrance into male spheres because part of the reason for the

crisis in the first place are such female intrusions (cf. Ashcraft and Flores). Rock art is not only masculine, but functions as a fetish: the material trace of the performance of exclusionary hegemonic power.

Another parallel is between Whitley's positing of shamanism as a resolution to the crisis and the oft-noted connection between the crisis of masculinity and the mythopoetic men's movement, which relies on various indigenous spiritualities to reconstruct manhood (Bederman; Ferber). Spiritual roles seem to offer not only a justification other than economics/subsistence, but in some cases license a "primitive" and virile masculinity. Shamanism offers an important alternative, incorporating heterosexuality, virility, and promiscuity/predation in a role defined by its esoteric, symbolic nature. Shamanism centers symbolic/social/spiritual work as central to a virile hegemonic masculinity, offering a negotiation of the tension over changes in work and masculinity from blue to white collar. This preserves "primitive" sexuality and social prestige, offering one resolution to the apparent contradictions between primitive and civilized masculinities and changing forms of work. Reclaiming the primitive is central to Euro-American masculinity—however, this is less a physical primitivism than a spiritual primitivism, (re)articulated to sexual potency, promiscuity, and even predation.

Hunting magic emphasizes physical abilities while adding a magical/ritual component. The shamanic model moves further away from physical skills and material acts toward a masculinity defined in terms of symbolic manipulation (i.e., "supernatural power" and "esoteric knowledge"), and in so doing positions (hetero)sexuality as central to Native masculinity. Shamanism resonates more with contemporary anxieties over masculine (hetero)sexuality in that it centers sexual virility both literally and metaphorically and highlights a link between the revival of masculinity and sexual behavior that resists contemporary criticisms of male predation, promiscuity, and harassment. A return to blue collar work may not seem a viable solution to the felt feminization/emasculatation which characterizes the contemporary crisis, while a "revival" of male (hetero)sexual prowess may be a way to resist the perceived "softening" of masculinity while retaining the (limited and fragile) prestige of the white collar.

Whitley's model for rock art interpretation posits a male Native figure, the shaman, which blends aspects of Bird's Doomed Warrior and Wise Elder. The figure manifests the prowess and agency of the Warrior with the spiritual knowledge of the Wise Elder, using the latter as means of engaging in symbolic travel, communion, and combat in order to manifest

the hegemonic masculinity of the former. The (hetero)sexuality of the Warrior is highlighted as both a metaphor for the shaman's ritual power and as a literal description of his behavior, with shamans' sexual potency reframing the spiritual wisdom of the asexual Wise Elder. In relation to the contemporary crisis, this offers a resolution to the tension between a physical, bodily, sexual, and "primitive" masculinity and a "civilized" masculinity of self-control, intellect, and will power. Insofar as the origin of the contemporary crisis is often located in the changing nature of work, as traditional blue collar masculinity gives way to a white collar version (Bederman; Faludi), and as the prestige of white collar work itself is problematized through corporate and bureaucratic feminization of the workforce (Ashcraft and Flores; Faludi), the shamanic narrative, through its homology with the narrative of the current crisis, promises social prestige and sexual virility to the legions of emasculated paper pushers and corporate lackeys (including academics and archaeologists) that make up the narrative of the middle-class crisis of masculinity. Once again, Native American cultures are used as a screen for projecting Euro-American cultural tensions and as a resource to (at least vicariously) resolve such tensions. Racial and cultural differences as well as historical distance enables the displaced expression of middle-class male fantasies and resolutions to the crisis of masculinity while obscuring the underlying discursive homology.

Conclusion

The shamanic and hunting magic models both rely on binary oppositions: male/female, active/passive, sacred/secular. Native men are not only active, but enhance their physical activity through spiritual/magical activity such as rock art. Native women are not only passive, but live lives of drudgery focused on the material actions of processing gathered foods, birthing, and raising children. Native women's lives are unenhanced by spiritual or symbolic activity, making them faceless Squaws with little to offer contemporary Westerners. Native men, in contrast, possess positive physical attributes, skills for survival in the material world, and special insight into the spiritual world gained through shamanic journeys and spirit helpers. For Westerners looking to compensate for what is lacking in contemporary existence (e.g., physical survival challenges, a close relationship to nature, and spiritual wisdom), the image of Native American

men, but not women, in rock art studies offers a rich resource for appropriation and projection.

The shift in masculinity from the hunting magic of the 1960s to the shamanism of the 1990s offers insight into changes and tensions in Euro-American masculinity. While the images of men in both models are consistent with hegemonic masculinity—they hold to a strict gender duality, posit men as active agents, and value men's over women's contributions (Trujillo)—there are significant differences. First, while both emphasize the supernatural, there is a shift from hunting magic as supportive of material subsistence to shamanism as a source of social power which compensates for a loss of status due to decreased contributions to material subsistence. Such a shift parallels economic trends often cited as central to the crisis of masculinity in late twentieth century USAmerica: the displacement of men from their role as breadwinners, the move from blue to white collar occupations, and attendant shifts in definitions of masculine competence and power. Second, the hunting magic model highlights men as hunters and ritual practitioners but does not explicitly foreground sexuality. Whitley's shamanic model not only makes male heterosexuality a metaphoric trait of shamanic practice, power, and ideology, it posits heterosexual promiscuity/predation as a trait of the shaman himself. The image of the shaman (re)defines sexual virility as linked to symbolic/spiritual power, not physical strength. Male sexual prowess, be it desirable or dangerous, is (re)centered as a key element of hegemonic masculinity, as is the ability to effectively use symbols.

The shamanic hypothesis for Great Basin rock art, therefore, can not only be understood as paralleling the contemporary crisis in (white) masculinity; shamanism also offers a model for its resolution. In this light, this analysis of masculinity in rock art interpretation suggests a third Euro-American model of Native American masculinity: the Shaman. This image combines aspects of the Doomed Warrior and Wise Elder but is not reducible to either. Neither of these existing images alone is sufficient for resolving the crisis of primitive/civilized masculinity (cf. Ashcraft and Flores; Bederman). The Doomed Warrior offers a physical/sexual vitality addressing a felt lack in contemporary white collar masculinity, but such a physicality is no longer viable, as reflected in the Warrior's status as "doomed"—physically strong but structurally impotent (Bird, "Savage"). No viable space for a purely physical masculinity exists in the modern world for middle-class whites or Indians. The Wise Elder, while offering a positive portrayal of spiritual wisdom, offers no compensation for

emasculated idea workers in search of a vigorously sexualized masculinity. The Shaman's mystical power and sexual virility revitalize hegemonic masculinity through the displacement of male power and virility from the physical to the social and spiritual while retaining the centrality of male heterosexual potency.⁷ Indigenous spirituality is positioned as a link between the "lost foundation" of masculinity—the primitive, sexualized body—and masculinity's manifestation in symbolic performances. Addressing economic changes may be beyond the power of individual men, but a vicarious or behavioral engagement of an unabashed sexual potency may seem more workable as well as gratifying.

Identification of this particular "strategy for encompassing a situation" (Burke 109), therefore, contributes to understandings of the contemporary crisis of masculinity, clarifies one possible function of the androcentric representation of Native Americans, and highlights the mutual vulnerability of seemingly unrelated but nevertheless homologous discourses. Homologies can not only enhance the appeal of particular texts/discourses and shape perceptions and evaluations through the principle of vulnerability (Brummett); they can also assist the operation of cultural projections and the "working through" of cultural tensions via tropes such as the primitive. Specifically, academic discourses are not only vulnerable to homological influences, but the dominance or acceptance of particular theories and models may be less a result of empirical validity than of their homology to contemporary conditions, ideologies, and standpoints. The rise and fall of different hypotheses may well be linked to their ability to effectively resonate with and respond to contemporary cultural dynamics. Since an individual "text calls attention to the particular individuation of form that it is rather than the form itself" (Brummett 20), the role of discursive homologies can be easily overlooked, obscuring important ideological affiliations and rhetorical operations.

Works Cited

- Adams, Carol J. *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory*. 10th Anniversary Edition. New York: Continuum, 2003.
- Ashcraft, Karen Lee, and Lisa A. Flores. "'Slaves with White Collars': Persistent Performances of Masculinity in Crisis." *Text & Performance Quarterly* 23 (2000): 1-29.
- Bass, Patricia M. "A Gendered Search Through Some West Texas Rock Art." Ed. David S. Whitley and Lawrence L. Loendorf. *New Light on Old Art: Recent Advances in Hunter-Gatherer Rock Art Research*. Institute of Archaeology, U of California, Los Angeles, 1994. 67-74.

- Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995.
- Berkhofer, Robert F. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Vintage, 1978.
- Bettinger, Robert L., and Martin A. Baumhoff. "The Numic Spread: Great Basin Cultures in Competition." *American Antiquity* 47 (1982): 485-503.
- Bird, S. Elizabeth. "Savage Desires: The Gendered Construction of the American Indian in Popular Media." Ed. Carter Jones Meyer and Diana Royer. *Selling the Indian: Commercializing and Appropriating American Indian Cultures*. Tucson: U of Arizona P, 2001. 62-98.
- Bird, S. Elizabeth. "Tales of Difference: Representations of American Indian Women in Popular Film and Television." Ed. Marian Meyers. *Mediated Women: Representations in Popular Culture*. Cresskill: Hampton, 1999. 91-109.
- Bordo, Susan. *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in Public and in Private*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999.
- Brummett, Barry. *Rhetorical Homologies: Form, Culture, Experience*. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 2004.
- Buescher, Derek, and Kent Ono. "Civilized Colonialism: Pocahontas as Neocolonial Rhetoric." *Women's Studies in Communication* 19 (1996): 127-53.
- Burke, Kenneth. *The Philosophy of Literary Form: Studies in Symbolic Action*, 3rd ed. Berkeley: U of California P, 1973.
- Bury, Rick. "Too Many Shamans: Ethics and Politics of Rock Art Interpretation." Ed. Steven M. Freers. *American Indian Rock Art, Volume 25*. Tucson: American Rock Art Research Association, 1999. 149-54.
- Churchill, Ward. *Indians Are Us?* Maine: Common Courage, 1994.
- Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1998.
- Faludi, Susan. *Stuffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*. New York: HarperCollins, 1999.
- Ferber, Abby L. "Racial Warriors and Weekend Warriors: The Construction of Masculinity in Mythopoetic and White Supremacist Discourse." Ed. Peter F. Murphy. *Feminisms and Masculinities*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004. 228-43.
- Fine, Michelle, Lois Weis, Judi Addelston, and Julia Marusza. "(In)Secure Times: Constructing White Working-Class Masculinities in the Late 20th Century." *Gender & Society* 11 (1997): 52-68.
- Galloway, Patricia. "Where Have All the Menstrual Huts Gone? The Invisibility of Menstrual Seclusion in the Late Prehistoric Southeast." Ed. Kelly Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley. *Reader in Gender Archaeology*. New York: Routledge, 1998. 197-211.
- Gilchrist, Roberta. *Gender and Archaeology: Contesting the Past*. New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Gilman, Sander L. *Difference and Pathology*. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1985.
- Grant, Campbell. *Rock Drawings of the Coso Range*. China Lake: Maturango Museum, 1968.
- Haraway, Donna J. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Harding, Sandra. *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1991.
- Hays-Gilpin, Kelley A. *Ambiguous Images: Gender and Rock Art*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira, 2004.
- Hedges, Ken. "Traversing the Middle Ground: An Examination of Shamanistic Interpretation of Rock Art." Ed. Steven M. Freers and Alanah Woody. *American Indian*

- Rock Art, Volume 27*. Tucson: American Rock Art Research Association, 2001. 123-36.
- Heizer, Robert F., and Martin A. Baumhoff. *Prehistoric Rock Art of Nevada and Eastern California*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1962.
- Kadish, Lesley V. "Reading Cereal Boxes: Pre-Packaging History and Indigenous Identities." *Americana: The Journal of American Popular Culture (1900-present)* 3.2 (Fall 2004). 29 Aug. 2005 <http://www.americanpopularculture.com/journal/articles/fall_2004/kadish.htm>.
- Kehoe, Alice B. "Emerging Trends Versus the Popular Paradigm in Rock-Art Research." *Antiquity* 76 (2002): 384-5.
- Kelly, Isabel T. "Chemehuevi Shamanism." Ed. Robert H. Lowie. *Essays in Anthropology: Presented to A. L. Kroeber in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday June 11, 1936*. Freeport: Books for Libraries, 1968. 129-42.
- Keyser, James D., and David S. Whitley. "Sympathetic Magic in Western North American Rock Art." *American Antiquity* 71 (2006): 3-26.
- Lewis-Williams, J. David. "Brainstorming Images: Neuropsychology and Rock Art Research." Ed. David S. Whitley. *Handbook of Rock Art Research*. Walnut Creek: AltMira, 2001. 332-57.
- Malotki, Ekkehart, and Donald E. Weaver, Jr. *Stone Chisel and Yucca Brush: Colorado Plateau Rock Art*. Walnut: Kiva Publishing, 2002.
- Martin, Emily. "The Egg and the Sperm." *Signs* 19 (1991): 485-501.
- Nelson, John, Allan Megill, and Donald N. McCloskey, eds. *The Rhetoric of the Human Sciences: Language and Argument in Scholarship and Public Affairs*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1987.
- Nelson, Sarah Milledge. *Gender in Archaeology: Analyzing Power and Prestige*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira, 1997.
- Pahuta, Mark. *Visions in Stone: Rock Art of the Coso Range*. Videocassette. Ridgecrest: Maturango Museum of the Indian Wells Valley, n.d.
- Robinson, Sally. *Marked Men: Masculinity in Crisis*. New York: Columbia UP, 2000.
- Rogers, Richard A. "Deciphering Kokopelli: Masculinity in Commodified Appropriations of Native American Imagery." *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4 (September 2007): in press.
- Ross, Mairi. "Emerging Trends in Rock-Art Research: Hunter-Gatherer Culture, Land and Landscape." *Antiquity* 75 (2001): 543-48.
- Schaafsma, Polly. *Indian Rock Art of the Southwest*. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1980.
- Schott, Robin May. *Cognition and Eros: A Critique of the Kantian Paradigm*. Boston: Beacon P, 1988.
- Simons, Herbert W., ed. *The Rhetorical Turn: Invention and Persuasion in the Conduct of Inquiry*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990.
- Slifer, Dennis. *Guide to Rock Art of the Utah Region*. Sante Fe: Ancient City P, 2000.
- Torgovnick, Marianna. *Primitive Passions: Men, Women, and the Quest for Ecstasy*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996.
- Troculli, Ruth. "Women Leaders in Native North American Societies." Ed. Tracy L. Sweely. *Manifesting Power: Gender and the Interpretation of Power in Archaeology*. New York: Routledge, 1999. 49-61.
- Trujillo, Nick. "Hegemonic Masculinity on the Mound: Media Representations of Nolan Ryan and American Sports Culture." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 8 (1991): 290-308.
- Turpin, Solveig A., ed. *Shamanism and Rock Art in North America*. San Antonio: Rock Art Foundation, 1994.

- Van Lent, Peter. "'Her Beautiful Savage': The Current Sexual Image of the Native American Male." Ed. S. Elizabeth Bird. *Dressing in Feathers: The Construction of the Indian in American Popular Culture*. Boulder: Westview, 1996. 211-27.
- Watson, Patty Jo, and Mary C. Kennedy. "The Development of Horticulture in the Eastern Woodlands of North America: Women's Role." Eds. Kelly Hays-Gilpin and David S. Whitley. *Reader in Gender Archaeology*. New York: Routledge, 1998. 173-90.
- Whitley, David S. *The Art of the Shaman: Rock Art of California*. Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 2000.
- . "By the Hunter, for the Gatherer: Art, Social Relations and Subsistence Change in the Prehistoric Great Basin." Ed. David S. Whitley. *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*. New York: Routledge, 1998. 257-74.
- . "Ethnography and Rock Art in the Far West: Some Archaeological Implications." Eds. David S. Whitley and Lawrence L. Loendorf. *New Light on Old Art: Recent Advances in Hunter-Gatherer Rock Art Research*. Institute of Archaeology, U of California, Los Angeles, 1994. 81-93.
- . "Finding Rain in the Desert: Landscape, Gender and Far Western North American Rock-Art." Eds. Christopher Chippindale and Paul S. C. Tacon. *The Archaeology of Rock Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998. 11-29.
- . *A Guide to Rock Art Sites: Southern California and Southern Nevada*. Missoula: Mountain, 1996.
- . "New Approaches to Old Problems: Archaeology in Search of an Ever Elusive Past." Ed. David S. Whitley. *Reader in Archaeological Theory: Post-Processual and Cognitive Approaches*. New York: Routledge, 1998. 1-28.
- . "Shamanism, Natural Modeling and the Rock Art of Far Western North American Hunter-Gatherers." Ed. Solveig A. Turpin. *Shamanism and Rock Art in North America*. San Antonio: Rock Art Foundation, 1994. 1-43.

Notes

¹The rock art literature distinguishes between "prehistoric" and "historic" periods in indigenous North American cultures, reflecting major cultural changes resulting from contact with Europeans. I avoid this usage when possible insofar as the distinction is ethnocentric, graphocentric, and complicit in both (neo)colonialism and the discourse of the primitive.

²A complete review of the major areas and trends in rock art studies is beyond the scope of this essay. Recent rock art studies include site descriptions, dating techniques, spatial analyses, ethnography and ethnohistory, aesthetic and semiotic analyses, phenomenological/impressionist accounts, applications of Jungian and other universalizing models, approaches to preservation and restoration, and many other topics and approaches. The literature is produced by academics (primarily anthropologists and archaeologists), land managers and other professionals, avocationalists, and other "rock art enthusiasts," and as a result encompasses a wide range of paradigms, methods, forms of reasoning, evidence, and styles.

³My argument that knowledge produced from archaeological and anthropological epistemologies/ideologies embodies and perpetuates cultural biases can be compared to Martin's analysis of scientific descriptions of the human reproductive process. She demonstrates that scientific findings are shaped by cultural narratives and metaphors, reproducing traditional gender stereotypes even in the face of contradictory evidence.

⁴My intent is not to single out Whitley to criticize him for "personal" projections

and gender biases. I interpret the patterns and issues I identify in his published works as reflections of the larger cultural and disciplinary contexts and discourses in which he operates.

⁵In her discussion of west Texas rock art, Bass indicates a past practice of assuming all anthropomorphic images are male unless specific female indicators are present.

⁶For an extended discussion of the symbolism of meat and vegetarianism as linked to gender, see Adams.

⁷In this sense, the Shaman as outlined here has important connections to other rock art imagery, such as "Kokopelli" the hump-backed flute player, the ubiquitous icon which has largely replaced the howling coyote and saguaro cactus as the mascot of the Southwest and whose meanings also cue both spirituality and sexual potency/predation (Rogers).

Copyright of *Women's Studies in Communication* is the property of Organization for Research on Women & Communication and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.